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Shao-hsing, a sociologist at National Taiwan University who was so helpful in his comments on my demographic data, but who more importantly, provided me with help and deepened my understanding of Taiwanese life. My wife and I owe thanks to our good friends Wang Chung-lu and his wife Nieh Hua-ling, who were so helpful in orienting us to life in Taiwan, to Mr. and Mrs. Lu Kuo-hwa of Taipei, and to Dr. Howard S. Levy, then of the American Embassy Chinese Language School in Taichung, and Virginia Warick Levy, who through their friendship and kindness did so much to make our stay in Taiwan a pleasant one.

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The book could never have been written without the full cooperation of the people of Hsin Hsing village who so willingly took us into their midst and shared their lives with us. To them go my warmest respect, appreciation, and indebtedness.

Finally, I owe much to my family. To my parents and brothers for their years of understanding and support of my desire to follow my own interests, I am very grateful. Most important, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Rita Schlesinger Gallin, for her fullest participation in the fieldwork, her immeasurable efforts and help in the preparation of the dissertation, and finally of this book, and for her never-ending patience, understanding, and encouragement.

Michigan State University
June, 1965

B. G.

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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

T 121

In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

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It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

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At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix 1.)

T 124

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During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognized experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Just as my wife and I came to be genuinely fond of many of the villagers as people, so did the interpreter. His warm attitude toward the villagers was extremely important. The villagers' impression of the interpreter—at least at the beginning—is likely to be transferred to the researcher. What the researcher says to the informant or hears from the informant must pass through the interpreter, who merely by tone of voice and facial expressions can either hinder or help in creating a warm and friendly relationship. Under such circumstances the researcher has little control over the situation. Although a single poor translation may produce some inaccurate data, a slight conflict in personality between interpreter and informant may cause the alienation of one and perhaps more of the informants.

On those occasions when the interpreter translated from Mandarin to English, I had the opportunity to check on the accuracy of his translations. Especially at the beginning of the fieldwork, I specifically requested that the interpreter translate from Mandarin. Since I knew Mandarin, I could make any necessary corrections in the translation or could at least discuss his translation technique. It was hoped that any necessary improvements would then be carried into the translation of Japanese to Mandarin or English.

Throughout the research period the interpreter lived in the village as a member of our household. Through frequent discussions, he became quite familiar with the nature of the research and usually knew the objectives of each interview. Although the interviews were directed, they were of a free conversational type which permitted following up promising leads as they developed in the course of a conversation.

On frequent occasions it became necessary and feasible for the interpreter to carry on lengthy, uninterrupted discussions with an informant on some question raised during the course of the interview. Since the interpreter had proven himself to be accurate and reliable, such a situation was not detrimental. But regardless of how good the interpreter is, something must be lost to the researcher, who in this case, more than ever the third party, must wait patiently to hear what has taken place between the interpreter and the informant. The interpreter's familiarity with the nature of the research can be of great help in such an interview situation.

But a serious problem may be created by the situation which has just been described. The interpreter may not be aware of points raised by his discussion with the informant which may need further investigation. The researcher may lose the opportunity to delve more deeply into leads which might be pertinent for his study. Under such a system something must be lost, but this is only one of the many problems inherent in an interview technique which relies on the use of an interpreter (Phillips 1959–1960).

At the same time, there are many positive things to be said for the use of an interpreter. The interview situation, to say the least, is not an easy one. For the researcher it is often quite wearisome not only to ask the questions and listen to answers but to keep the conversation flowing, always watching for information or a lead on a totally different subject. Such an interview does not usually go according to any schedule. In addition to all this, the researcher must record all the pertinent data, either in writing or, in my case, by committing it to memory for later recording. A well-trained interpreter

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AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant.

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations.

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques.

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose.

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

114 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly,
123 but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when
114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are
• 124 translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and
[197] their relatives. With many members of the family my communication was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives.

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims.

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft;

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien ADβ
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

• 124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

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Peihotien

mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*596 ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy.
*159 By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a
• 124 girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

562 As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

*596 Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim
*159 Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as
584 a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a
584 "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-
554 law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local
183 custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

*596 In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim
*159 Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's fam-
584 ily. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was
597 born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

between] came to talk about a marriage when I was nineteen, but I said I didn't want to get married. I still didn't want to get married when I was twenty-three, but my parents made me do it. It was all because of my parents. I knew about this family and I didn't want to marry into it. It is better the way they do it now—it is better to pick out your husband yourself because then you can get along together. See how it is with me. I didn't want this marriage and I was right. We don't get along at all. He is always going *peng, peng, peng* [the sound used to denote scolding]. There is nothing good about an arranged marriage. The very most you can do is visit your parents now and then and say, 'I didn't want to marry him and you made me do it so now you are responsible for my suffering.' But when I was married, all of the marriages were arranged by the parents. And that is the stupidest thing in the world.

"I was only 19 when they came to talk about this marriage. I wouldn't do it, and my grandmother wouldn't make me do it. She didn't like the things she heard about the Lims either. But three years later my mother and her husband's elder brother's wife went ahead and arranged this marriage. Every time I go home, I complain to them that they gave me a sad, hard life."

I pointed out to Chui-ieng that I often see her sitting with her husband whispering to him about various things and she answered indignantly, "Oh you. You are so dumb. He beats me all the time because we get along so well, is that why? You don't know how hard I had to work when I first married into this family. I even had to go out and work in the fields with the rest of them. And all the time he is scolding . . ."

My assistant, whose honesty at times overwhelms her diplomacy, suggested, "Well, he only hits you when something happens. He doesn't hit you just to amuse himself."

Chui-ieng could not deny the truth of this but asserted, "Yes, but I'll always remember it. I'll never forget it until I die. I'll always remember to bring it up and talk about it once in awhile."

Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng have four boys and two girls. Their first born, Kim-hok, is a tall, handsome boy in his early teens. He has the long-boned body and the fine, thin features of his father's family. He also has their temperament and in him I fear it will be a handicap that it was not to the generations before him. Their strength and self-confidence show up in Kim-hok as stubborn arrogance. The

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 12

[p.141]

A GIFT OF PRIDE

During the years we lived in Peihotien, my husband often turned to Lim Chieng-cua for solutions to the puzzles of village life. We were rarely disappointed by his suggestions. Many of the villagers, and even some of the educated men who are at ease in the classrooms of Taipei, shook their heads at our queries and gave us the thoughtless answer: "That's just the way it is done." Unlike his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua enjoyed turning our questions over in his mind, often showing us that the error was in the question. We came to rely on his insights to send us down a more fruitful path in our search for understanding. It is not easy for a man who knows no other way of life, and who is a deeply involved participant in the life he knows, to step away from it, and to view it through an outsider's eyes. It is not easy, and it is often not pleasant, but for the Lims this has become a habit. Lim Chieng-cua is not the contemplative oriental so often described and so rarely seen. If he were, he would not have been of so much assistance to us, nor would his opinions have been so respected by his fellows. In the closed life of a Taiwanese village, the unusual quirks of a man's personality are accepted in the same way as a crippled leg: that's just the way he is. But, even the slightest suspicion of a more basic peculiarity—a man who questions the premises his neighbors call fact—leads to doubt and distrust. Because of the long hours he wasted talking with us, some of Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors wondered at his patience, others grew suspicious of his motives and ours, and the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

more acute were uneasy at his obvious enjoyment of profitless discussion. Several times I saw this uneasiness in A-bok's face—a face and perhaps a character more similar to Lim Han-ci's. Thiam-hok's dreamy thoughts and his father's intellectual speculations suggest weakness to the villager. And in a world where each meal can be measured in hours of hard labor, they are a weakness. I hope his neighbors concluded after our departure that the hours Lim Chieng-cua wasted with us were only a modern variation of the hours he wasted in the company of his mistresses.

I learned as much about the economics of the Lim household and the Lim factory as I could hope to from a rational businessman. I did not, however, learn anything from Lim Chieng-cua about the problems that beset his family. We always talked around them, addressing ourselves to the general problem of why families cannot achieve the ideal to which they all give lip service. My own notions about the tensions that tear apart the extended family, many of them based on simple observation of the Lims, were presented to the head of the Lims and after some thought agreed to by him, but his examples were always in terms of some other family. There was a reserve, often camouflaged by dry humor, that prevented me from being as ruthless with personal questions as I was with other villagers. Lim Chieng-cua held in his mind a clear picture of his family as he wanted us to see it, and even if he thought we might be aware of the flaws in this picture, he was not willing to discuss them. We were to see a thriving, industrious farm family, supplementing its income with a moderately lucrative home factory. Family members all contributed to the common pot and received from the common pot, with final authority resting in the senior male, the head of the household. This was not a simple game of presenting a shining face to the foreigner. We were only bystanders. The more important audience was the village, the larger world of Hotien, and distant but important relatives. It was for many years a deception in which the entire family participated, with varying degrees of willingness. It had not always been a deception.

Lim A-pou's dissatisfaction with the administration of the family budget was more openly expressed during the second year of my stay in the village, and in terms of simple facts, she was often justified in her complaints. She refuses to accept, however, that a man who must obtain custom from city businessmen must dress better than a farmer, that school-age children require more clothes than children rolling

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
127 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

122 Taiwanese was studied informally in the village. Our limited command of the two languages also provided a means of checking data.

124 115 Additionally, two villagers were employed, one male and one female, both excellent in Taiwanese and reasonably fluent in Mandarin. The female was a young primary school graduate from Sanlei, primarily employed as household help. However, she was bright, active, sensitive, observant, privy to village gossip, the daughter of one of the informal village leaders, and proved most helpful. The boy was from Erhlei, a part-time farm laborer studying drafting nights and Saturdays in a Taipei technical high school. Villagers considered him a very good boy and he was very popular. He was first employed to make a village map of households and fields and detailed household plans. Since he had ready access to all village houses, he also made periodic inventories of possessions including the farm animals. He too became an excellent informant. Since both were bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, they often proved useful as interpreters during our period of residence in the village for only one of the regular assistants lived in the village. Our ability in Taiwanese never reached a level sufficient for serious interviews but we could use it for simple polite conversation. We both understood more than we could speak.

123 Finally, mention must be made of the fact that there were two anthropologists in the family, one male and one female. There are some situations in which a male has a significant advantage, and others, a female. For example, I had a distinct advantage with regard to men's drinking parties, dirty-story telling, sex life, etc. On the other hand, it proved exceedingly difficult for me to interview women under 30 on many subjects and with regard to sex, almost any female at an age under 70 was nearly impossible. Indeed, for an anthropological study of Chinese society, I believe a Western woman has an advantage. She is fully accepted as a woman by the women and simultaneously is almost accepted as a man by the men. Although we each studied separate villages, we inevitably participated in the affairs of both. Discussion of data and interpretations constantly stimulated and encouraged both of us for each could bring a fresh insight into the other's problems.

124 In addition to the usual techniques, there were
125 three special approaches. Because we eventually desired to compare the two villages, ten months after commencing field work, we jointly prepared an open-ended interview schedule which was independently administered to all adults in each of the two villages. An interview schedule prepared by Dr. Gallin was administered to a sample of village
124 residents. Finally, a number of interviews were conducted

124 with villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei, about half during their visits to the village and half in their city homes.

121 Approach to the Problem

128 A key term necessarily employed frequently in this report is "role." Since the term often has been assigned a number of different meanings, I shall employ the following definition in an attempt to avoid confusion:

> As an aspect of social structure, a role may be defined as a named social position characterized by a set of (a) personal qualities and (b) activities, the set being normatively evaluated to some degree both by those in the situation and others (Sweetser, 1964:609).

This definition does not maintain the distinction between status and role originated by Linton (1936:113-4) and expanded by others (Parsons, 1951:25; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:11), i.e., status refers to the position and role to the behavior associated with it. Nadel's argument that it is pointless to separate a rule of behavior from its application is most convincing (1957:20-44) so I have combined status and role.

Roles do not exist in isolation. To identify a single role is always to identify by implication another role with which it is engaged in interaction patterns. For example, a teacher implies a student and a parent, a child. Merton proposes that role-set be used where a status entails more than one social relationship (1957: